

MATEUSZ SEROKA

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES, WARSAW
E-MAIL: M.SEROKA@UW.EDU.PL

SUBMISSION: 21.01.2019

ACCEPTANCE: 6.06.2019

Searching for “New Muslims.” Croatian Elite’ Stance Towards Bosnian Muslims Elites in Croatian Travelogues in the Second Half of 19th Century

ABSTRACT

During the so-called Croatian National Revival and decades which follows, intellectuals involved in various variations of this movement considered Bosnia and Herzegovina to be part of the Croatian national space. As a consequence, Bosnians were seen as part of the Croatian nation. In particular, this concerned the Catholic and Muslim population. However, the main problem in the perception of Bosnia and Herzegovina was an encounter with its oriental shaped culture. The biggest challenge was contact with Bosnian Muslims, whose identity was shaped by Islam, the religion which was connoted in Croatia with the loss of control over many Croatian lands including Bosnia as well as backwardness. The testimonies of these problems are present in the travelogues from journeys to Bosnia and Herzegovina by Croatian intellectuals in the 19th century. On the one hand, they concerned Muslims as Croats who converted to Islam, as representatives of exotic culture, burdened with many stereotypes. In the Croatian nationalists’ attempts to recruit Bosnian Muslims, local intermediaries, members of the Muslim elite, were needed. For the Croats, the optimal partners were the activists from the pro-modernization circles of local elites. If such persons would accept Croatian identity they were seen as valuable allies who capable to enrich Croatian culture, but also help to Europeanise their fatherland. Croatian travellers from the second half of 19th century found such persons and especially appreciated such persons as Savfet-beg Bašagić and Osman Nuri Hadžić, one of the main Bosnian Muslim modernists of that time. However, Croatian intellectuals were also unwilling to get in touch with autonomist pro-modernization circles of Bosnian Muslims elite and prefer to conceal their existence. In case of the conservative part of Bosnian Muslims elites Croats would rather accept a critique originated from Croatian-leaning, pro-modernization groups because they perceived them as a threat to assimilation actions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

KEYWORDS

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Croatian Non-Fiction Literature of 19th-Century Travelogues, Islam, Modernisation Currents, Nationalism, Nation-Building

The second half of the 19th century brought to Bosnia and Herzegovina a series of political and social changes which transformed this peripheral European province of the Ottoman Empire into at least partially Europeanized land. At the end of Turkey's reign, modernization processes initiated by the Tanzimat reforms and national emancipation movements inspired by the so-called national renewal in the territories of Serbia, Montenegro or Croatia speeded up.¹ These phenomena gained momentum, especially after the start of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungary in 1878, whose administration began activities aimed at top-down modernization of the economically underdeveloped and socially conservative country. Among the Bosnian ethnic groups living in Bosnia, Bosnian Muslims were the most affected one, who, along with the ousting of Turkey, were deprived of the position of a dominant ethnos. The loss of social and political power was also accompanied by the disintegration of the existing identity structure based on religious identification. While thorough the 19th century the Bosnian Orthodox and Catholics were subject to the influences of Western-type modernization currents, including the creation of the modern national identities already in the period before 1878, Muslims remained largely on the margins of these processes.² After the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the basis of

¹ S. Kodrić, *Kako su Bošnjaci videli muslimanski Orijent i europski Zapad krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća?*, p. 45, [online] http://dspace.uni.lodz.pl:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11089/20053/%5b41%5d_56_Kodric.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [accessed: 12.01.2019].

² In case of Orthodox people of Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbian national idea had become gaining thanks to politics of Ilija Garašanin, foreign minister of then autonomous Serbia. In case of Bosnian Catholics modernization currents were spreading due to community's elite—Franciscan monks educated in Croatian and Hungarian schools, seminars and universities. See: S. Dujmović, „*Bosna i Hercegovina ne može ni da živi ni da umre*” – situiranje identiteta Bosne i Hercegovine kod bosanskohercegovačkih Srba (do 1941. godine), [in:] *Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju. Zbornik radova*, ur. H. Kamberović, Sarajevo 2011, p. 22; S. M. Džaja, *Politički profil fra Grge Martića*, „Bosna franciscana” 1995, god. III, br. 4, pp. 55–64; T. Oršolić, *Franjevci – utemeljitelji prve hrvatske pučke škole u Tolisi i uopće u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od prve pučke škole 1823. do osnivanja državne škole 1893.*, „Bosna franciscana” 2006, g. XIV, br. 25, pp. 123–130. In case of Bosnian Muslim ethnics those ideas became more present in the last decade of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. e. in the work of first Bosnian Muslim journalist Mehmed Šaćir Kurtćehajić. S. Dizdar, *Prvi Bošnjački novinar Mehmed Šaćir Kurtćehajić (1844–1872)*, „Bosniaca. Journal of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, 2012, No. 17, pp. 63–65.

modern collective identity was to be not so much the religion as ethnicity, for which the basic criterion for distinguishing was linguistic differences. In such a situation the distinctiveness of Bosnian ethnies was in a question.

Purpose of this text is to bring a short reconnaissance in the topic of an attitude of Croatian national movement elite to Bosnian Muslim elites in the second half of the 19th century. Material which will be used to the analysis above mentioned are Croatian four travelogues from journeys to Bosnia and Herzegovina published between 1858 and 1896. Their authors are Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Đuro Pilar, Starinom Bošnjak vel Tugomir Alaupović and Ante Tresić Pavičić. The thesis of this article is that during their journeys to Bosnia and Herzegovina Croatian intellectuals were trying to get in touch with local Muslim elites but especially with those modernization oriented. Such bias was caused by their own cultural and ideological orientation—all of them were shaped by 18th and 19th-century ideas of enlightenment and progress which were an integral part of Croatian national idea.³ Because of that, they were searching for Muslim counterparts who could "discover" their Croatian ethnic roots and take part in projects of modernization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the text is covering the second half of the 19th century, when modern Bosniak national identity was not fully shaped, the term Bosnian Muslim or Bosnian Muslim ethnie will be consequently used instead of ethnonym Bosniak. Such a solution is based on ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism developed by British scientist Anthony D. Smith. In author's opinion, Smith's approach to the question of building modern national identity is more comprehensive as it is taking into account not only aspects such as spreading of information, making new education system and constructing tradition but also a wide variety of ethnic aspects that shaped national identity through the centuries.⁴ In the case of Balkans (as well as Central Europe) especially important are ethnolinguistic and religious identities and the question of forming a common culture of remembrance.⁵

³ D. Jelčić, *Preporod književnosti i književnost preporoda*, Zagreb 1993, pp. 74–76, 78, 136; M. Falski, *Porządkowanie przestrzeni narodowej – przypadek chorwacki. Studium z historii wyobrażeń kulturowych*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 45–48; A. Boguska, *Oświecenie, Chorwacja*, [in:] *Leksykon idei wędrownych na słowińskich Bałkanach XVIII–XXI wiek. Oświecenie. Religia. Racjonalizm*, Warszawa 2018, pp. 37–43.

⁴ A. D. Smith, *Etniczne źródła narodów*, tłum. M. Głowacka-Grajper, Kraków 2009, p. 7 et passim; A. D. Smith, *Kulturowe podstawy narodów. Hierarchia, przymierze i republika*, tłum. W. Usakiewicz, Kraków 2009, pp. 49–68.

⁵ J. Assman, *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, tłum. A. Kryczyńska-Pham, Warszawa 2008, p. 15.

The elite of Bosnian Slavic Muslims then faced the necessity to take a stand against comprehensive social changes drawing their strength from external processes which started outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This led to the formation of two main groups of social and political activists—the first of them were conservatives and traditionalists rejecting as many civilization innovations as possible and trying to build a sense of individuality based on religious differences. The second one was a wide reformers' camp, who, to varying degrees, accepted new intellectual currents and institutions introduced by Austro-Hungarian administrators. Inside this camp, two overlapping groups emerged—on the one hand a stronger, focused around Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak and periodic "Bošnjak," promoting the idea of loyalty to new power, moderate social reforms and Bosnian national autonomy,⁶ and on the other heterogeneous environments of more radical modernists who advocate for profound social changes and questioning the separateness of Muslim ethnies towards the Croatian or Serbian people. Muslim intellectuals belonging to the latter, depending on national sympathies, focused around magazines such as "Bosanska vila" and "Gajret" (pro-Serbian activists) or "Nada" and "Behar" (pro-Croatian activists). In their radicalism, although they were not enemies of religion, they directed the criticism towards social conventions of the Ottoman era and religion influenced customs. Activists of these circles (e.g. Edhem Mulabdić, Osman Nuri Hadžić, Ademaga Mešić) advocated popularizing education, ending the boycott of Western economic and social institutions and new laws introduced by the occupation administration. They also accepted the ideas of modern national identity brought together with the end of Ottoman rule in Bosnia in which religion was only one of the elements shaping individual and collective identity. Therefore, they were open to the influence of Croatian or Serbian nationalists attempting to make Bosnian Muslims part of their nation.⁷

The political and social changes that affected Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the nineteenth century did not escape the attention of the external participating observers, which include both Serbian and Croatian national activists. Both sides saw in civilization changes affecting BiH a factor conducive

⁶ R. J. Donia, *Islam pod dvoglavim orlom: Muslimani Bosne i Hercegovine 1878.–1914.*, prev. T. Praštalo, Zagreb–Sarajevo 2000, pp. 51–81; S. Šagolj, *Novinstvo i nastanak nacija u BiH (1850.–1914.)*, Split–Mostar 2011, pp. 381–402; A. Jahić, *Bošnjačka elita u prvoj polovini XX stoljeća – naslijeđe, kontekst, prioriteti, interesi*, „Godišnjak BZK Preporod” 2011, god. XI, pp. 141–142; Dž. Šuško, *Bosniaks & Loyalty: Responses to the Conscription law in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1881/1882*, “Hungarian Historical Review” 2014, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 538, 544–549.

⁷ M. Rizvić, *Behar. Književnohistorijska monografija*, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 9–10; Dž. Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi u bosanskohercegovačkom saboru i jezičko pitanje (1910–1914)*, Sarajevo 1999, pp. 30–32; S. Kodrić, op. cit., pp. 44–50.

to more or less openly articulated plans for including BiH into the area of their own national culture space, or, as in the case of Serbs, also their own state. Political, social and economic reforms and the changes brought about by them have been associated with the Europeanisation and cleansing of the neighboring country from the social and economic backwardness associated with Turkey and militant Islam. In the case of Croatian intelligentsia, an important source documenting the interest of Croatian activists in the situation of BiH in the nineteenth century are travelogues (in Croatian *putopisi*), in the Polish literary tradition, as a literary genre, they are referred to as *podróże* (travels).⁸

The nineteenth-century Croatian literary creativity arose primarily on the basis of the ideological model of national literature.⁹ According to its assumptions, the works had to be tendentious and useful for the national cause, which was manifested by the implementation of the "fun and learn" principle popular among national activists. By that means they became an instrument of shaping the concept of the Croatian national space, popularizing national history and strengthening national political myths. In Croatia, just like in the whole Central Europe area, not only genres that already had an established position in the literary hierarchy like poetry or drama have been included in the implementation of such defined tasks, but also prose and peripheral genres functioning on the borderline of artistic writing and non-fiction literature. One of the most widely used forms of this type was a travelogue describing domestic and foreign expeditions carried out by members of cultural and political elites. The resulting texts had the reputation of being close to the idea of an objective record of the reality with which the traveler was associated. So they could appeal to the part of the recipients who adhered to rationalism. Quite often, they have also become a good tool for political polemics with ideological opponents.¹⁰

From the perspective of the modern researcher of the subject, Croatian nineteenth-century journeys are not only interesting literature, but also among other themes, an invaluable source of knowledge about the attitude of Croatian national activists towards the Bosnian social elite in the late Ottoman period, and above all during the Austro-Hungarian occupation.¹¹

⁸ Cz. Niedzielski, *O teoretycznoliterackich tradycjach prozy dokumentarnej. Podróż – Powieść – Reportaż*, Toruń 1979, p. 5 et passim.

⁹ D. Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, Zagreb 1998, pp. 81–84, 103–104; D. Jelčić, op. cit., pp. 90–91, 140–141.

¹⁰ D. Duda, op. cit., pp. 48–54, 91–151.

¹¹ Among worth mentioning works of Polish scholars are articles about of Croatian travelogues written by Krystyna Pieniążek-Marković from the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, Mateusz Seroka and Maciej Falski from the Warsaw University. See: K. Pieniążek-

Opinions presented by the authors of travelogues of that time were influenced by both cultural heritage of earlier centuries and the necessity to carry out current tasks being a part of work for their own nation. Therefore, on the one hand, Islam and the Ottoman culture were still perceived as extremely foreign cultural forces, which shaped the social and economic backwardness of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The general dislike towards Islam and Turkey among Croatian political and cultural elite was an effect of Croatian cultural contrapresentive mythomoteur. The Ottoman Empire was responsible for the deep crisis of Croatian statehood and the loss of the overwhelming majority of lands belonging to Triune Kingdome (including significant BiH lands) at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.¹² On the other hand, the Croatian elite was also convinced that Bosnia and Herzegovina still remained an ethnically Slavic land belonging to the Croatian national space. In order to realize the dreams of joining all lands in one country (South Slavic or later Croatian) one had to gain the trust of the local population and convince it to its conception. Both aspects of the Croatian mythomoteur were frequently reproduced in the Croatian literature canon from 16th century up to the time of Croatian National Revival. For this reason, Croatian activists going to Bosnia and Herzegovina more or less openly expressed their dislike or distrust towards the aspects of Bosnian reality shaped by the Turkish-Muslim culture (also in relation to the Christian population), and at the same time seeing ethnic proximity, they were trying to find interlocutors and potential collaborators also among Bosnian Muslims.¹³

The first signs of interest in the reforming trend among the Muslim elite in BiH can be observed even during the late Ottoman period. Croatian national movement activist and, writer and historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889) pointed out the promoters of economic and social changes in Bosnia and

-Marković, *Hrvatski romantičari otkrivaju Bosnu*, [in:] *Sarajevski filološki susreti II. Zbornik radova*, knj. II, ur. S. Kodrić, V. Preljević, Sarajevo 2014, pp. 280–301; eadem, *Relacje ze spotkania z inną kulturą w dziennikach podróży chorwackiego romantyzmu*, [in:] *Spotkania międzykulturowe. 1. Literaturoznawstwo. Kultura*, red. K. Jarząbek, A. Ruttar, S. Sojda, Katowice 2013, pp. 114–123; M. Seroka, *Chorwacja turecka – Turcja europejska? Bośnia w podróżopisarstwie epoki jugosławizmu*, „Pamiętnik Słowiański” 2013, t. LXIII, z. 1–2, pp. 89–113; idem, *Środowisko sarajewskiej „Nady” i napływowi Chorwaci w Bośni i Hercegowinie w szkicach z podróży Antego Tresicia Pavičića*, [in:] *Czytać, wędrować, być. Tom dedykowany Profesorowi Zdzisławowi Darasowski*, red. M. Bogusławska, J. Goszczyńska, J. Śuler-Galos, Warszawa 2016, pp. 101–112; M. Falski, *Pamięć społeczna a ideologia. Z problematyki autodefinicji kultury bośniackiej*, „Południowosłowiańskie Zeszyty Naukowe. Język – Literatura – Kultura” 2007, t. 4, pp. 51–64.

¹² J. Rapacka, *Śródziemnomorze – Europa Środkowa – Bałkany. Studia z literatur południowosłowiańskich*, Kraków 2002, pp. 347–348.

¹³ J. Assman, op. cit., pp. 93–98, 108–112, 132–136.

Herzegovina in his relation entitled *A journey through Bosnia (Putovanje po Bosni)*, published in 1858. Probably, due to his noble origin, author of the travelogue focused his attention mainly on representatives of the Muslim aristocracy. As a historian, national activist focused on social reforms and declared Slavophile, while traveling in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he sought evidence of the Slavic and Croatian character of this country. Therefore, for example, he recorded every surviving custom or an example of oral literature considered as Slavic heritage.¹⁴

Although he tried to move away from anti-Turkish and anti-Islamic resentments in his work, he definitely reacted positively to the meetings with these representatives of Muslim elites (including Turkish officials managing the country), who showed a tendency, for example, of Europeanizing their attire. However, he most enthusiastically described his meeting with the representative of the local Bosnian nobility, Dervišbeg Teskeredžić. Such a reaction was caused not only by the Europeanisation of the dress and interior decoration of the aristocrat's house (although the latter was described with a slight note of irony) but above all the commitment to change inter-faith relations and awareness of linguistic communication with visiting Croats:

Our host Dervišbeg is person respectable and smooth, advocating for reforms and progress, he does not prosecute Christians [...]. We were chatting with him about everything including our language, which is very appreciated by him and about which he said that is best spoken in Herzegovina, because it is not so mixed with Turkish words, as it is in Bosnia. He regrets that Bosnia stayed so far behind other Slavic countries—he knows a little bit its past and reason of its fall, he complains about roads and stupidity of people, who did not travel anywhere and see nothing.¹⁵

Kukuljević Sakcinski also recognizes that another Bosnian nobleman, Mehmed Hašijić, met in Banja Luka, who in turn is introducing himself to the Croat as a man striving to improve Bosnia's economic situation and open to developing contacts with the world outside the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶

¹⁴ I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb 1997, p. 340, 366

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 366. Original text of quotation: „Domaćin Dervišbeg je čovjek ugledan i gladak, zauzet za reforme i napredak, ne preganja kèršćane [...]. Mi se razgovaramo s njime o svačemu i o našem jeziku, kojega veoma cieni i o kojemu reče da se najbolje govori u Hercegovini, jer nije tako pomiješan s turskimi rječmi kao u Bosni. On žali na Bosnu, što je tako daleko zaostala za drugimi zemljami slavenskim – pozna ponješto njezinu prošastnost i uzrok propasti, tuži se na drumove i na glupost ljudi, koji niesu nikuda putovali i ništa vidjeli” [The author's own translation].

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 338–339.

The possibilities of meeting with Bosnian Muslim elites increased after the beginning of the occupation of the Bosnian lands by Austria-Hungary. This coincided with the changes in generations in Croatian politics. Slavophile circles (from Illyrian and Yugoslav movements) dominating until the 1870s have weakened in favor of nationalists gathered around the Ante Starčević Party of Rights. The latter rejected the idea of creating a Southern Slavs state as well as supremacy of the Slavic identity in which the “local” identities—Croatian and Serbian—were to be located. Starčević’s supporters advocated the restoration of the Croatian state in the historical-ethnic boundaries, which with the then state of historical knowledge, was identified with setting them on the Drina River.¹⁷ Thus, Bosnia and Herzegovina became an integral part of the Croatian ethnic and state space. What more, activists and supporters of the Party of Rights were suspicious of the identity dimension of confessional. In their opinion, religion was a factor of division among Croatian people, therefore it was necessary to emphasize the ethnic aspects of the nation, such as language identity.¹⁸ Thanks to this, it was possible for them to recognize all Slavic, Shtokavian dialect speaking inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina as native Croats. The leader of the nationalist milieu also revealed clear Turkophilic tendencies motivated by aversion towards the authorities of the Hungarians and Austrians over Croatian lands. His positive attitude to the presence of the Ottomans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus opposition to the commencement of the Austro-Hungary occupation of the country, justified the fact that the Turks left governments in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the hands of the local nobility, whom he called “Croats of the purest and noblest blood.”¹⁹ Based on this thesis, which Starčević set in his journalism in 1869, ten years later, the majority of Croatian political activists and intellectual elites, were almost convinced that Bosnian Muslims were, in fact, ethnic Croats.²⁰

However, the suspicious attitude to the Turkish heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina was still a problem. Both the experiences of earlier Croats’ travels after BiH and the growing number of European reports from that and other areas of Turkey strengthened the image of the Ottoman Empire as a backward,

¹⁷ V. Posavec, *Povijesni zemljovid i granice Hrvatske u Tomislavovo doba*, Zagreb 1997, pp. 283–290; A. Starčević, *Politički spisi*, Zagreb 1971, pp. 110, 308, 312–313.

¹⁸ A. Starčević, *Našim prijateljem. Naputak 1871.*, [in:] T. Cipek, S. Matković, *Programatski dokumenti hrvatskih političkih stranaka i skupina 1842.–1914.*, Zagreb 2006, p. 241.

¹⁹ Idem, *Politički spisi...*, op. cit., pp. 198–199; idem, *Iztočno pitanje*, Varaždin 1995, pp. 3–41. The book is reprint of edition from 1899.

²⁰ An example of such thinking can be a book by 19th century Croatian historian Vejkoslav Klaić. See: V. Klaić, *Bosna. Podatci o zemljopisu i poviesti Bosne i Hercegovine. Prvi dio: Zemljopis*, Zagreb 1878, p. VII.

chaotic and practically unreformable being.²¹ Despite the politically motivated rhetorical acceptance of Bosnian Muslims, their conservatism documented by travelers was still a problem (for example in the *Trails. Through Bosnia (Puti. Po Bosni)* by Mihovil Pavlinović, the last report from Bosnia ruled by the Turks, the author emphasized the privileged position of Muslims in comparison to the Christians and their unwillingness to accept civilization innovations, for example, the railways).²² Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina was still treated as an area of the civilization mission for the Croats, in which it was necessary to find local allies.

The authors of works created after 1878, so in the new political situation, still experienced the same problems with the Bosnian reality. Turkish heritage is still treated cautiously by the Croats. This is evidenced by the impressions written by Đuro Pilar (1846–1893), a geographer, geologist and the first rector of University of Zagreb, who, while carrying out the semi-official mission for the occupation authorities, traveled to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879. Collected observations from this journey Pilar published in magazine "Obzor" and then in a book *Sketches from the journey to Bosnia (Putopisne crtice iz Bosne)*.²³

Among other 19th century Croatian travelogues Pilar's one distinguishes a relatively small focus on the national question in Bosnia, what reflects in his Muslim ethnical descriptions. Therefore, Bosnian Muslims are described in the manner characteristic of positive sciences not in the national perspective. The desire to give readers a clear, objective description of the reality seen resulted in a detachment from the idea of national unity. Each meeting with a Bosnian Muslim (usually described by ethnonyms *Turak, Turčin*) was for

²¹ Examples of such narration can be found in Matija Mažuranić *Glance at Bosnia (Pogled u Bosnu)* from 1842, the first Croatian travelogue depicting Bosnia and Herzegovina in 19th century or in Adlofo Veber Tkalčević *A journey to Plitvice (Put u Plitvice)*. See: M. Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*, [in:] I. Mažuranić, M. Mažuranić, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića, Stihovi, Proza. Pogled u Bosnu*, Zagreb 1965, pp. 189–253; A. Veber Tkalčević, *Odabrana proza*, Vinkovci 1998, pp. 93–109. Two most famous European travelogues of that time are *Bosnie et Herzégovine: souvenirs de voyage pendant l'insurrection* from 1876 by Charles Yriarte and *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on foot during the insurrection, August and September 1875; with an historical review of Bosnia and a glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the ancient republic of Ragusa* from 1876 by Arthur J. Evans. Similar observations can be also found in 19th century travelogues of Polish authors—f. e. Manswet Aulich, Ignacy Pietraszewski, Waław Wężyk. See: S. Burkot, *Polskie podrózpisarstwo romantyczne*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 46–121.

²² M. Pavlinović, *Puti. Po Bosni*, [in:] F. Rački, M. Pavlinović, N. Nodilo, B. Lorković, *Izbori iz djela*, Zagreb 1969, pp. 203–206.

²³ A. Zindrum, *Bosna u ljeto 1879. godine. uz 160. obljetnicu rođenja putopisca Đure Pilara, "Bosna franciscana"* 2006, god. 14, br. 25, p. 280; Pilar Đuro, [in:] *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, t. 6, Maklj-Put, ur. M. Krleža, Zagreb 1965, p. 501.

Pilar encounter with a civilization different from his own, what Pilar seems to be aware of from the very beginning of his journey.²⁴ This is already proved by the description of the first hours spent in Bosnia, when his attention was drawn to the traces of attachment to the old, better for Muslims times, such as the map of Anatolia drawn up in Turkey and the way of saving the customer's account. Pilar was also interested in furnishing the interior of the café and the occupations of its clients:

Someone advised us to go to the Turkish café [...]. The Turkish cafés are all made of one pattern, so was this one. There was a spacious room and about ten people there, who were sitting on a long, chest like benches, covered with cane matting. A map of Anatolia translated into Turkish was hanging on the wall, next to which was a blackboard with scrips containing names of guests of café glued to blackboard's surface under which there was a long column of lines made with chalk, which maybe were showing a number of cafés probably drunk by each of them.²⁵

Despite the gradual familiarization with some aspects of Bosnian reality (diversity of manners, manifestation by the Muslim community of hostility towards the occupiers), Pilar still could not get rid of the distance especially in the face of manifestations of lack of education.²⁶ That is why, like Kukuljević Sakcinski, he sought among the Muslim elite people who it could be regarded as a forerunner of civilizational changes leading to improvement of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He found such a person during a reconnaissance around Sanski Most, where Hussein-efendi Vaizade Čurčić accompanied him in the peregrinations around the area. He was supposed to be a trusted man of one of the previous Ottoman governors (*Vali*) of Osman-pasha, who enabled him to learn in one of Istanbul's madrasa. A good marriage allowed him, in turn, to expand the farm and achieve a high position among the Muslim clergy. During his conversation with him, Pilar paid particular attention to his social and political views:

²⁴ G. Pilar, *Putopisne crtice iz Bosne*, Slavonski Brod 2007, pp. 25–29. The book is a reprint of edition from 1879.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 25. Original text of quotation: „Netko predloži, da idemo u tursku kavanu [...]. Turske kavane sve su po jednom kalupu, a i ova bijaše prema tomu. Nadjoh prostranu sobu a u njoj desetak ljudi sjedeći na dugih, sandukom naličnih klupah, rogoznimi hasurami pokrivenih. Na stienah bijaše tlovid male Azije (Anatolije), turski tumačen, do njeg bijaše, crna tabla a na njoj, pod priljepljenimi ceduljami i imeni habitue-a kavane, dug stupac poteza kredom učinjenih, uznačujućih valjda broj kava, što je dotičnik na vjeru popio” [The author's own translation].

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 41–42, 58, 65–66, 70.

At the time of last uprising [Herzegovina uprising which broke out in 1875] all people run for their lives, the herd was taken by the Turks, houses plundered and burned and many men slaughtered. Hussein effendi was boasting that he managed to save many lives and judging after what I have heard and seen then, it was true. Hussein effendi is true and enlightened Mohammedan, he climbed on heights of theological knowledge and gained the title of vaizade [preacher], but he is not a fanatic, he is just a philanthropist so during the uprising he was against detention on poor rayah. Most of all he was a great opponent of armed resistance against the Austrian army, by what the Turks called him a "friar" and, as he recalls, they almost killed him too [...].²⁷

Pilar's special recognition was, therefore, the attitude of the interlocutor towards the dissenters, who, as he noted, was confirmed in the words of other people met in this region. The Croatian traveler also liked his reluctance to resist the entering of the Austro-Hungarian army. He stressed that at the root of these attitudes was "lack of fanaticism," thanks to which Čurčić managed to limit the fratricidal struggle in his subordinate section of Bosnia, although—as is clear from the description—he failed to implement all plans in this respect, which he blamed for "hard-core" Muslims.

However, Pilar is disappointed with the faith in the treasures from the past hidden under the stones and in ruins (in which Čurčić do not differ from ordinary Bosnian Muslims), but also troublesome for the guest from Zagreb attachment to the Turkish past of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latter forced the traveler to not always successful climbing to the heights of diplomatic skills:

Once he asked me: "Tell me please mister Gjuro, when will your army left Bosnia?" In which way you could reply to him? Is there any man who could and want to give him a positive answer on such a question? [...] I said to him: "You should know effendi, that Turkish emperor with ours emperor made an agreement, in which stands that our army will stay and our officials will rule Bosnia until peace and order comes everywhere, roads and railways built, telegraphs established, schools opened, and Turks with Christians see each other as a brothers [...]"²⁸

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 94. Original text of quotation: „Za vremena zadnjega ustanka sve se razbjeglo, stoka od Turaka odvedena, kuće poharane i popaljene i mnogo ljudi posjećeno. Hussein efendi hvalio se je, da je mnogu glavu na ramenih sačuvao i po onom sudeć, što sam kasnije čuo i vidio, bilo je tako. Hussein efendi je korjenit i osvjedočen muhamedovac, on se je popeo na velik stepen teologičkoga znanja i dobio naslov vaizade [kaznodzieja] [...], ali on nije fanatik, on je pače filantrop i bio je za vremena ustanka proti strahovanju na siroti raji. Napose je bio velik protivnik oružanoga odpora proti austrijskoj vojsci i zato su ga Turci „fratrom“ nazivali i umalo, kako veli, da i njega posjekli nisu [...]" [The author's own translation].

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 68–71. Original text of quotation: „Jednom me upita: 'Reci ti meni gospodine Gjuro, kad će vaša vojska ostaviti Bosnu? Što da mu čovjek na to odgovori? Koliko ima

Relations written in the nineties of the 19th century, in the period in which the Austro-Hungarian occupation stabilized, are characterized by the continuation of earlier Enlightenment and positivist trends and active attempts to find evidence of the Croatian character of Bosnian lands. The authors of the two travelogues from that time are poets—the first was Starinom Bošnjak, which is a probable pseudonym of Tugomir Alaupović (1870–1958), one of the founders of Croatian Cultural Society “Progress” (Hrvatsko Kulturno Društvo “Napredak”),²⁹ who in 1895 in prestigious cultural magazine “Vienac” published a text entitled *Sarajevo*. The second one was Ante Tresić Pavičić (1867–1949), a poet and political activist. In the 19th century, he was activist of the circles of Party of Rights, but in the 20th century he shifted to Yugoslav idea, and after establishing Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes he was performing the function of ambassador to Spain and United States of America.³⁰ In 1896 Tresić Pavičić published, in the magazine “Dom i svijet” a travelogue *Bosnia and Herzegovina. Travelogue sketches (Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice)*.

Both authors paid close attention to the social changes that took place as a result of the Austro-Hungarian occupation. The subject of their critical assessments became not only poor education of Bosnians (especially Muslims) but also elements of the Oriental culture that shaped rules of the social life of Muslim ethnies. At the same time, they were interested in language issues, changes in the political situation and the state of local culture. Their observations are characterized by perceiving themselves as promoters of social change and tools for the development of the Croatian national idea in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The above considerations have maintained and even increased the interest in contacts with ordinary Bosnians as well as with the elites of each Bosnian ethnies. A particularly important place, due to the potential of use for the national-civilization mission, was occupied by views of the elites of Bosnian Muslims ethnies.

uobće ljudi, koji bi u stanju bili, kad bi i htjeli, dati pozitivna odgovora na to pitanje? [...] Rekoh mu: “Ti znaš effendija, da je turski car s našim carem učinio ugovor, da naša vojska u Bosni ostaje i naši činovnici Bosnom upravljaju dok nebude posvuda mir i red, putevi načinjeni, željeznice posagradjene, teli (telegraf) povučeni, škole postvarane, a Turci i kršćani se pazili kao braća [...]” [The author’s own translation].

²⁹ I. Pederin, *Književnost hrvatskoga realizma i „Vijenac” o Bosni i Hercegovini poslije Šenotine smrti*, „Kačić” 1997, br. 29, p. 42

³⁰ V. Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, prir. V. Brešić, Zagreb 1997, p. 370; *Tresić Pavičić Ante*, [in:] *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, t. 8, Srbija-Ž., ur. M. Krleža, Zagreb 1971, pp. 365–366.

A good material showing the perception of the Bosnian elite at the end of the nineteenth century is, in particular, the account of Tresić Pavičić. During his Bosnian peregrinations (from the Bihać area up to the Croatian city of Metković) writer initially seems to be interested mainly in representatives of the local Muslim gentry. It does not differ in a significant way from his predecessors, who were also particularly fond of this social group. In Tresić's descriptions of these meetings, can be seen Ante Starčević's evident tendency to glorify this social layer. The existence of the native Bosnian gentry, which for several centuries remained the depository of power in the BiH area, was an important justification for the Turkophilic rhetoric of the leader of the Party of the Rights. As a result, Tresić softened the assessment of the behavior of Bosnian aristocrats in situations where his predecessors would probably be very critical.

This is present, for example, in justifying the dislike of the dissenters, noticed in case of a member of the Kulenović family met in Gjulhisar. The old Muslim is dissatisfied with the rise of the "rayah" position in relation to the times before the occupation. Tresić tried to give a rational explanation for this behavior. He claims that from the conversation he discerned that the interests of the old beg are going poorly; hence he found "rayah" as a scapegoat, which he blames for his failures. The traveler also attempted to talk with Kulenović on topics related to politics, which was clearly connected with the self-perceived task of shaping Bosnian Muslims national identity. Assuming that Kulenović should consider himself a Croat Tresić wanted to check the views of the nobleman, and it is possible that he would like to correct them a bit. Meanwhile, the assumption of the ethnic affiliation of the Muslim element to the Croatian nation, however, does not find enough confirmation. As Tresić writes: "beg did not have a clear political position," which means that the Croat is forced to draw the conclusion that Kulenović "inclines to Croatian" only on the basis of his particular reluctance to Serbs.³¹

As the results of a meeting with a representative of the old elite were far from the young writer's expectations, Tresić felt better describing new Muslim elites. However, in this context, he writes only about Osman Nuri Hadžić and Savfet-beg Bašagić. Both were associated with the magazine "Nada," created by Kosta Hörmann, a Croat working for the Austro-Hungarian authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, they had direct contacts with Croatian national circles from Zagreb. Tresić Pavičić's view of the elite of Bosnia (and the entire Muslim society) is clearly marked by the Croatian national ideology. This is evident not only through the selection of the characters described but also a very poor understanding of the Muslim intellectual circles. He includes in that

³¹ A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 8, p. 144.

group not only already mentioned Bašagić and Hadžić, but also Osman Beg Štafić, apparently not realizing that this is only a pseudonym adopted by Krsto Pavletić, one of the Croatian-Catholic writers publishing in “Nada” (similarly as in the case of Ivan Miličević, also writing under “Muslim” pseudonym).³²

In the case of Bašagić, the interest of the Croatian traveler focuses on the field of aesthetic and literary activity. Perhaps the choice of such a perspective was influenced by the absence of a Muslim poet in Sarajevo. Tresić did not manage to meet him in Sarajevo, so he could not obtain the expected information from him about the situation of the Muslim community.³³ For this reason, the author of the travelogue had to focus on another aspect of his activity. Thanks to the debut of Bašagić on pages of Croatian magazines at the beginning of the nineties of the 19th century, Tresić had an opportunity to read and enthusiastically describe his works full of oriental influence, which were thus introduced to Croatian literature, fitting well into the way of thinking about national culture present in the circles of the Party of Rights.

Writing about Bašagić, Tresić focuses solely on his cooperation with “Nada,” which he considers a bridgehead of the Croatian national idea in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, he conceals parallel cooperation of this writer with founded by provisional government magazine “Bošnjak” which was propagating the vision of the autonomous Bosnian nation (there is also no mention about that letter in the description of activities of the occupation authorities). Also, he says no word about the activity of Muslim Reading Society (Kireathana) which was also connected to autonomous circles of Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak.³⁴ Probably main reason of concealing those facts is that this would disrupt the vision of national unity of the Croats of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and their countrymen from Bosnia and Herzegovina which is being pushed throughout the text. Instead of giving a more panoramic view of problems related to the Muslim issue, the author gives information only about two representatives of the Muslim intelligentsia, cooperating with the Croatian national movement. In Tresić Pavičić narrative, Bašagić and Hadžić became best “proofs” for the two thesis—first about fully Croatian roots of the Bosnian Muslims and second about the effectiveness of the activities of Croatian nationalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³² Idem, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 9, p. 168; S. Šagolj, op. cit., pp. 333–345.

³³ A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 10, p. 185.

³⁴ S. Kodrić, op. cit., p. 48.

However, such an approach to the problem cannot be regarded solely as an ordinary usurpation of a Croatian national activist. During his life Bašagić presented, often in parallel, two attitudes—one clearly pro-Croatian, convergent with the ideas of the Party of Rights, and the other one more heavily inclined towards strengthening the sense of separateness of his native community. Both, however, did not have to exclude each other, as it was also in case of several other significant figures of Muslim elites, for example, writer Edhem Mu-labdić.³⁵

Tresić particular attention is devoted to Osman Nuri Hadžić, who was part of a literary tandem with Ivan Aziz Miličević (as Osman-Aziz). Focusing the readers' attention on this figure is justified by, in travelogue's author opinion, the unique combination of rooting in the tradition of Hadžić own ethnoreligious group with work for social and national development. For Tresić he is, together with Miličević, the symbol of reconciliation between Croats Catholics and Croats Muslims. Author of the travelogue emphasizes Hadžić's religious education (he graduated from the Qur'anic school), which allows him to overcome religious "separatism" that is detrimental to the Croatian national idea. His "will to power" gives effects ineffective work on the "decaying spirit" of his Muslim brothers and inclusion in the project of modernizing society. In this context, he recalls then well-known Hadžić article *What will happen with Mohammedans of Bosnia (Što će biti sa muhamedovci Bosne)*, published on pages of the journal "Hrvatska" connected with the Party of Rights. The Bosnian intellectual attacks religious conservatives associated with the circle of Mostar clerics for maintaining a dislike for education, work and modern social institutions among the Muslim community. Their harmful activity was not only to consist in the fact that they did not "direct the people towards progress," but also did not set a good example by themselves, using religion to achieve their own material and political benefits. The faith in the idea of progress, which is reflecting through comments of Tresić, combined with the political beliefs typical for Starčević followers, influences the enthusiastic assessment of the effects of the wakening efforts of Nuri Hadžić. Tresić describes them as building "a rampart against foreign floods and denationalization."³⁶

At the same time, it is not difficult to notice that enthusiasm for Hadžić's criticism directed against traditionalists stemmed from the fact that some of the principles of Islam were raising many Tresić doubts. In the spirit of Star-

³⁵ S. Bašagić, M. Ćazim Ćatić, *Izabrana djela*, ur. O. Prohić, Zagreb 2005 pp. 26–34, 36–37, 335–336, 341–346; N. Kisić Kolanović, *Ademaga Mešić i hrvatska nacionalna ideja 1895.–1918. godine*, „Časopis za suvremenu povijest” 2008, god. 40, br. 3, pp. 1123–1135.

³⁶ A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 9, p. 168.

čević religious tolerance, he states generally that Islam has many beautiful principles and its dogmas are based on common sense. He tries to avoid describing the ritual sphere of Islam, because, as he points out, the devotees of one faith will always consider some of the rituals of the second faith ridiculous. So he briefly mentions all the most important manifestations of religiosity, such as ablutions that are not very effective in terms of body purity, circumcision, which in turn, praises as logical in more southern countries, preservation of the food taboos and specific fasting during Ramadan. At the same time, he notes that Bosnian Muslims often did not keep the abstinence order because, while avoiding wine, they were drinking rakija (by the way he mentions, in his opinion, senseless allegations which Christians and Muslims were doing each other about drinking alcohol). Although he does not laugh at the rituals themselves, just like some of his predecessors,³⁷ he negatively appraises the Islamic religiosity of many Bosnian Muslims as resulting in blind conservatism. Its symbol is for his prayer in a language they do not know completely. Tresić assumes that whispering of Arabic formulas is a form of behavior of people who once upon a time used to dabble with magic.³⁸ In his opinion such attachment to tradition made it harder for them to get closer to the rest of society:

Religious conservatism influences their way of thinking, their spirit and their body and their attire. True Mohammedan won't ever change his boots with black shoes, either his clothing with a French one. In every nation conservatism is a son of lack of knowledge and ignorance, so it is among them. Whereas they are ignorant in matter of faith they do not even manage to uproot some Christian elements which left even though they converted to Mahomet's faith. [...] Religious conservatism, together with great unacquaintance of their faith opens the field to superstition, which among Mohammedans is uncommonly developed.³⁹

In the influence of faith, he also sees the source of the largest difference in the principles of social life between Muslims and Christians. Namely, it is the social position of women—as in his opinion women of the Western civiliza-

³⁷ This kind of behaviour is present for example in the Matija Mažuranić travelogue. See: M. Mažuranić, op. cit., pp. 201–202, 220, 234, 241–242.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 165; A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 10, p. 186.

³⁹ Ibidem. Original text of quotation: „Vjerski konservatizam upliva na njihovo mišljenje, na njihov duh i na njihovo tielo, i na njihovu nošnju. Pravi muhamedanac neće nikada zamieniti svoje postole crnim cipelami, niti svoga odiela francezkim. Konservatizam je sin neznanja i neuke kod svakoga naroda, a tako i kod njih. Pošto su u vjeri neuki oni nisu iz nje još iztriebili neke kršćanske elemente koji im ostadoše pošto primiše Muhamedovu vjeru. [...] Vjerski koservatizam, uz veliko nepoznavanje svoje vjere, otvara široko polje praznovjerju, koje je u muhamedanaca neobično razvijeno” [The author's own translation].

tional circle are already almost completely liberated. He mentions extreme dependence of Muslim women on men and bringing women to the role of a "slave, perceived more like a beautiful thing, the solace of husband's life, created rather give birth to children than to be a human being." Rich women had to spend whole days on body care in harems or on gossiping and eating sweets at their girlfriends' houses. This had a negative impact on their interests and knowledge about the world. Muslim women were thus a passive group and actually lost to the society. One of the elements of enslavement was also their outfit. He describes that the girls who were twelve years old had already been subject to restrictions. Their attires most often consisted of colorful but covering silhouette trousers, as well as headscarves covering the head and the majority of the face. In addition, Muslim women were not educated even in the religious or musical sphere (by what their singing was resembling cries of young children, accompanied by the cacophony of harmony and gusle). So, their lives focused on matters of carnality and sexuality, of which a kind of "rite" was, conventionalized advances (*ašikovanje*).

Tresić mentioned, that the ban on meeting men outside the family also had another practical effect. In case of illness, they were dependent on the husband's decision. If he agreed to let the doctor in, he could save the woman's health and life. If he was not, then only the "help" of charlatans remained. Tresić saw a way out of this situation in the government taking necessary measures, aimed at creating a network of hospitals for women.⁴⁰

The writer also believed that excessive religiosity has distracted many Bosnian Muslims from the project of modernization of society. They did not want to be involved in modern social institutions (regardless of their pedigree) and were grouped around anti-modernization oriented Islamic clerics. This was what Tresić called denationalization in the context of Hadžić struggle with traditionalists.

As in the case of Bašagić, when he did not mention the Bosnian autonomists troublesome for the Croatian nationalists, so in the passages concerning Nuri Hadžić too, the topic of ethnophiletic tendencies in the Bosnian Muslim community appears only briefly and contextual.

Agreeing with Hadžić's criticism of the traditionalist Mostar clergy, Tresić confirms the existence of such problem, which he associates with religious over-zeal of the Bosnian Muslims, preventing them from gaining appropriate level of knowledge and isolating them from Catholics. This problem is barely marked by the author of the travelogue and does not appear any further in the text. However, this was a phenomenon that heavily affected the subsequent

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 187–188.

development of the political situation in these territories. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Muslim community of Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into three major camps. The first of them (focused in Sarajevo) accepted modernization currents, coming from the occupation authorities. On its margins were functioning circles of Muslim supporters of Serbian and Croatian national ideas, which had their own projects of the modernization of Bosnian society. The second camp, moderately opposing to the authorities and distrustful to the national aspirations of the neighbors, represented the beliefs of the conservative part of the old Muslim elite. Its greatest resistance was caused by plans to carry out agrarian reforms and freeing peasants (mainly Christians) from the obligation to pay tribute to Muslim landowners. That circle was concentrated in the cities of central Bosnia, above all in Travnik. Perhaps its representative was a member of the Kulenović family met by Tresić in Gjulhisar. The third camp (his leader was Ali Fehmi-efendi Džabić) was shaped around traditionalist Muslim clerics who, based on religious issues, stressed the necessity to separate Bosnian Muslim community from the occupiers and the modernizing Christian neighbors. At the turn of the century, the center of activity of that circle became Mostar. Hence, it was the group in which was aimed criticism of Osman Nuri Hadžić journalism. The way Tresić treats this topic may be either a deliberate concealing of the problem or another effect of poor insight in internal disputes of the Bosnian Muslim community.⁴¹

Behind this second interpretation speaks the character of the whole reasoning about Muslims. Tresić, after an unsuccessful attempt to meet Bašagić for longer conversation, loses the opportunity to gather information from a member of the community he wants to describe. He himself admits that he gets information indirectly thanks to the Croats Catholics he meets and through his own observations, which are significantly influenced by his cultural and political superstitions. On the one hand, it was a problem for him, but on the other hand, significant facilitation of the “national work” he performed. Thanks to this coincidence, it was easier for him to present the Bosnian ethnies to the readers in a manner consistent with the assumptions of Croatian national activists.

The Bosnian Muslims are, therefore, in most cases, described as descendants of the Bosnian gentry, who converted to Islam in order to preserve their social position. He states that the religious roots of the Bosnian Muslims were in Bogomilism or Catholicism. Thus, for Tresić, it follows that they are people of Croatian origin. Confirmation of this thesis he finds in fairly good neighbor relations with Catholics, which stands out against the background of hatred and

⁴¹ R. J. Donia, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–143.

contempt towards the people of Orthodox faith (so the Serbs). In the same place, Tresić once again expresses the view that the greater attachment to faith is, the greater is the tendency towards harmful separatism. That is why, in his opinion, the proper direction of change is to put an emphasis on secular education:

Educated Mohammedan, who comprehends future and knows past of the country, as well as his own past, considers to be a Croat and feels that he has similar aspirations as Catholic because political aspirations motivated by faith are no longer possible to reach.⁴²

In Tugomir Alupović's travelogue *Sarajevo* (from a trip which took place about a year earlier than the Tresić Pavičić one), there are almost no direct references to specific figures belonging to the group of Muslim promoting the transformation of Bosnian society in the spirit of Occidentalism. There is only one place where such names are written (again Savfet-beg Bašagić and Osman Nuri Hadžić). It is a fragment in which Alupović comments administrative obstacles which the Austro-Hungarian occupation authorities were creating against Croats putting Croatian national issues on agenda in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴³ Despite this, he tries to encourage his countrymen to come to the neighboring country and to carry out the task of "republican education of society" in order to raise it to a higher level of organization and culture. As one of the instruments of this process, he recognizes the work carried out by the circle around magazines kept under the supervision of Kosta Hörmann:

To cease hatred between brothers of a different faith, to cultivate love among them, bring out points common to all of us. This is the first well which feeds Tugomir Alupović, Osman Hadžić, Bašagić, beg Štafić and many others. Its content will give to Bosnian belletrist and poet an occasion to get in touch with both western and occidental culture and to influence our people in Bosnia.⁴⁴

⁴² A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 10, p. 188. Original text of quotation: „Naobraženiji muhamedanac, koji shvaća budućnost zemlje i poznaje njezinu i svoju prošlost, drži se hrvatom, i čuti da su mu sa katolikom srodne težnje, jer su njegove političke težnje, koje mu vjera uzbuđuje, za uvijek nemoguće” [The author's own translation].

⁴³ Starinom Bošnjak (T. Alupović), *Sarajevo*, „Vienac” 1895, god. XXVII, br. 22, p. 438.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Sarajevo*, „Vienac” 1895, god. XXVII, br. 29, p. 463 Original text of quotation: „Utišavati mržnju izmed braće raznih vjera, piriti ljubav medjusobnu, isticati točke, koje su nam svima zajedničke. To je prvo vrelo. Iz njega se napaja Tugomir Alupović, Osman Hadžić, Bašagić, beg Štafić i mnogi drugi. – Gradivo beletristi i pjesniku bosanskom davat će i dodir izmed zapadne kulture i istočne, te djelovanje tih kultura na naš narod u Bosni” [The author's own translation].

Despite the scant references to individual figures of the Muslim modernization movement, the attitude of the author to these circles can be deduced from the description of the Bosnian reality. As Tresić Pavičić, Alaupović, being shaped in the culture of the nineteenth-century progressive national republicanism, expresses his suspicion or even reluctance towards oriental social conventions or even the post-Ottoman spatial order of the Bosnian cities.⁴⁵ The author of the account was also suspicious of the nature of Bosnian Islam, which he perceived as dominated by ritual and unreflective religiosity. However, he did not directly attack Islam as a religion but its “distortions” resulting, as he supposes, from the lack of good education, including the lack of knowledge of Arabic as the language of Islamic liturgy. He also sheds on the score of non-reflexive religiosity the existence of social conventions, often referred to as fanaticism, in which he sees the cause of much social pathology.

In his opinion, as a result of religious conventions, most of the Bosnian Muslim women became slothful and socially useless (they did not do shopping, they could not sew, and even neglect the development of their own children, who were really looked after only by hodja, while studying in the mekteba). As a result, they devote themselves to occult practices and other superstitions, and to wasting time on rumors and meaningless conversations.

Alaupović consistently shows the face of a nineteenth-century liberal. It does not differ from the majority of its predecessors, who also criticized the oriental aspects of Bosnian culture, seeing them as an obstacle to establishing a social system preferred by the then liberal bourgeoisie (which expressed its views on this issue also through the appropriate urban planning of cities—hence the critique of oriental urbanism).⁴⁶ His pursuit of a veristic description of the lives of Muslim women is largely consistent with what Tresić Pavičić wrote. A similar view of the case was also presented by the Polish doctor Teodora Krajewska who was working in Bosnia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. She also described Muslim women as generally cut off from the world and forced to live in terrible hygienic conditions under the influence of cultivated religious customs. She emphasized, however, that it often results not so much from the Quran itself, but from the fact that the custom “was born over the centuries under the influence of fanaticism.” She also noticed that there were also “progressive Muslims” in the womb of Bosnian Muslim ethnies, who were respectful towards women.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Idem, *Sarajevo*, „Vienac” 1895, god. XXVII, br. 16, pp. 254–255; A. Tresić Pavičić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crte*, “Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 9, p. 165.

⁴⁶ C. E. Schorske, *Beč krajem stoljeća. Politika i kultura*, Zagreb 1997, pp. 47–78, 128–129.

⁴⁷ Starinom Bošnjak (T. Alaupović), *Sarajevo*, „Vienac” 1895, god. XXVII, br. 24, p. 382; T. z Kosmowskich Krajewska, *Pamiętnik*, Kraków 1989, pp. 71–72.

Alaupović himself recognizes that also Christians were a group on the margins of social life. That is why he emphasizes the need to include women in national work, and the feminine issue often appears in his text, always in connection with the failure to use the potential of either Muslim women or Christians. All of them are, in his opinion, victims of a lack of education and the result of well-established social conventions. Religion, although it appears in the background of this criticism, is not a decisive factor in shaping the character of Bosnian women. Alaupović most often draws attention to the materialism of poor and declassed people who preserve the type of life which is harmful to the development of what he considers proper social attitudes. Therefore, he strongly appeals to care for the education and personality development of women, who in this way can become full-fledged members of their communities.⁴⁸

However, in the enormous social problems *Starinom Bošnjak vel Tugomir*, Alaupović noticed changes initiated either by Croats or Muslim intellectualists going in the direction he desired. Alaupović (due to his musical interests) focuses on singing societies. He describes with appreciation activity of the Trebević Singing Society, which he describes as a "purely Croatian" organization. Its main driving force in that period was Croatian patriotism, thanks to which it was possible to gather both rich citizens from Croatia and local representatives of the lower layers. Although activities of the society were primarily directed at Bosnian Catholics, according to the beliefs of activists shaped by the ideas of the Party of Rights, the Muslims could also enroll. This openness led, in the years 1899–1900, to the conflict with the Sarajevo bishop Josip Stadler. He believed that faith is not only part of the sphere of privacy and should play its proper role in the life of the nation. Therefore, he tried to emphasize its presence in various social activities, including those concerning culture. In 1899, the Croatian Trebević Singing Society decided to organize the ceremony of introducing its banner. Due to the fact that the members of the organization could also be non-Catholics, lay people as well as Bosnian Franciscans who were playing a significant role in it, organizers wanted a lay celebration, while Stadler insisted on giving it a Catholic shape. Because in the voting of the society's members won the first option, Stadler forbade the diocesan priests who were members of the organization to appear at this ceremony due to the fact that "the desire to please a few Muslims deprives her of Catholic character."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Starinom Bošnjak* (T. Alaupović), *Sarajevo*, „Vienac“ 1895, god. XXVII, br. 25, pp. 396–398.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 379; J. Krišto, *Riječ je o Bosni*, Zagreb 2008, pp. 43–50.

In addition to the question of singing societies, Alaupović also mentions the existence of Muslim reading rooms for books and magazines (*kiraethana*). The author of the travelogue classified them as institutions serving primarily personal and social development (which again justifies the principles of Islam prohibiting empty play). Its space serves Muslims both for the basic purpose of reading the press and books, as well as for official meetings (e.g. on Bajram). Social meetings take place in a cafe next door. As the author points out, both Turkish and Croatian magazines, as well as newspapers, are available in the reading room. Similarly, in cafes, which as spaces beyond the continuous supervision of the state, can provide the entire spectrum of the daily and cultural-social press regardless of their “national origin.”

Taking into account above mentioned beliefs and views of Alaupović about situation and society of Bosnia and Herzegovina it can be seen that they are deeply convergent with those of Osman Nuri Hadžić. As for Alaupović most of the Ottoman heritage in culture and customs of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a kind of burden for this country it can be concluded that his attitude to the modernisation and pro-Croatian oriented Muslim has to be positive. Alaupović probably noticed that thanks to their help, it could be possible to more effectively Europeanize former Turkish province, and convince its Muslim inhabitants to choose Croatian national identity. In this context, it is not surprising that, just like Tresić, he found Bašagić and Hadžić, intellectuals cooperating with the Croatian national movement, worth mentioning in his travelogue.

All of presented in this work authors, as active members of nation-oriented but progressive circles of Croatian intelligentsia, were trying to contact with Bosnian Muslims. Their attention was focused on those people whom they could call Muslim occidentalists or progressists, so kind of counterparts and potential collaborators. However, until the last decade of the 19th century, most of those meetings were rather matter of accident, than well-planned action, especially because nearly all journeys were quite short stays. As an effect, there was no place to begun longer and regular cooperation with the aim of modernising Bosnian society, not mentioning carrying on national propaganda among Bosnians of all faiths. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation had stabilized, Croats got more chances to attract members of the young Muslim elite to the Croatian national idea and its components inspired by the idea of progress. Consequences of such change can be seen in travelogues of Tresić Pavičić and Tugomir Alaupović (*Starinom Bošnjak*). Both Tresić and Alaupović planned at least some of their meetings and sought particular persons to speak to. In contrast to Kukuljević Sakcinski and Pilar, they could also get acquainted with

beliefs of such then Croatian-leaning activists like Bašagić and Hadžić even before they started their journey. That fact largely influenced their own beliefs. Like their predecessors, they had their views on Bosnia and its ethnies already shaped by the national idea before coming to the neighbouring country. They were somehow obsessed with "prejudices" flowing from then European culture, so they wanted to modernise and Europeanise Bosnia and Herzegovina to get its people closer to Croatia. More frequent contacts with part of new Bosnian Muslim elites, the testimony of which can be travelogues, affected their way of thinking. Both authors were not only projecting European views on Bosnians but in contrast to Kukuljević and Pilar, they were taking over some views of Bosnian Muslim progressive intelligentsia (it can be noticed especially when it comes to Islam). Travelogues witness also about kind of unwillingness to contact and cooperate with two biggest groups of Bosnian Muslim elites—promodernisation circle around Kapetanović Ljubušak and traditionalist circle around Džabić, concealing which ultimately led to the failure of plans to assimilate a bigger number of adherents of Islam to Croatian national culture. In effect activity of Croatian intellectuals helped to finally shape a modern national identity of Bosniak nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Assman J., *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, Warszawa 2008.
2. *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, prir. V. Brešić V, Zagreb 1997.
3. Bašagić S., Čatić Čazim M., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb 2005.
4. Burkot S., *Polskie podróżopisarstwo romantyczne*, Warszawa 1988.
5. *Czytać, wędrować, być. Tom dedykowany Profesorowi Zdzisławowi Daraszowi*, red. M. Bogusławska, J. Goszczyńska, J. Šuler-Galos, Warszawa 2016.
6. Dizdār S., *Prvi Bošnjački novinar Mehmed Šaćir Kurtćehajić (1844–1872)*, "Bosniaca. Journal of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina", No. 17 (2012).
7. Donia R. J., *Islam pod dvoglavim orlom: Muslimani Bosne i Hercegovine 1878.–1914.*, Zagreb–Sarajevo 2000.
8. Duda D., *Priča i putovanje*, Zagreb 1998.
9. Džaja S. M., *Politički profil fra Grge Martića*, „Bosna franciscana”, III (1995), br. 4.
10. *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, t. 6, *Maklj-Put*, ur. M. Krleža, Zagreb 1965.
11. *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, t. 8, *Srbija-Ž*, ur. M. Krleža, Zagreb 1971.
12. Falski M., *Pamięć społeczna a ideologia. Z problematyki autodefinicji kultury bośniackiej*, „Południowosłowiańskie Zeszyty Naukowe. Język – Literatura – Kultura” 2007, t. 4.
13. Falski M., *Porządkowanie przestrzeni narodowej – przypadek chorwacki. Studium z historii wyobrażeń kulturowych*, Warszawa 2008.
14. *Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju. Zbornik radova*, ur. H. Kamberović, Sarajevo 2011.

15. Jahić A., *Bošnjačka elita u prvoj polovini XX stoljeća – naslijeđe, kontekst, prioriteti, interesi*, „Godišnjak BZK Preporod” 2011, god. XI.
16. Juzbašić Dž., *Nacionalno-politički odnosi u bosanskohercegovačkom saboru i jezičko pitanje (1910–1914)*, Sarajevo 1999.
17. Kisić Kolanović N., *Ademaga Mešić i hrvatska nacionalna ideja 1895.–1918. godine*, „Časopis za suvremenu povijest” 2008, god. 40, br. 3.
18. Klaić V., *Bosna. Podatci o zemljopisu i povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine. Prvi dio: Zemljopis*, Zagreb 1878.
19. Kodrić S., *Kako su Bošnjaci videli muslimanski Orijent i europski Zapad krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća?*, [online] http://dspace.uni.lodz.pl:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11089/20053/%5b41%5d_56_Kodric.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [accessed: 12.01.2019].
20. Krajewska z Kosmowskich T., *Pamiętnik*, Kraków 1989.
21. Krišto J., *Riječ je o Bosni*, Zagreb 2008.
22. Kukuljević Sakcinski I., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb 1997.
23. *Leksykon idei wędrownych na słowiańskich Bałkanach XVIII–XXI wiek. Oświecenie. Religia. Racjonalizm*, Warszawa 2018.
24. Lorković B., Nodilo N., Pavlinović M., Rački F., *Izbori iz djela*, Zagreb 1969.
25. Mažuranić I., Mažuranić M., *Smrt Smil-age Čengića, Stihovi, Proza. Pogled u Bosnu*, Zagreb 1965.
26. Niedzielski Cz., *O teoretycznoliterackich tradycjach prozy dokumentarnej. Podróż – Powieść – Reportaż*, Toruń 1979.
27. Oršolić T., *Franjevci – utemeljitelji prve hrvatske pučke škole u Tolisi i uopće u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od prve pučke škole 1823. do osnivanja državne škole 1893.*, „Bosna franciscana” 2006, god. XIV, br. 25.
28. Pederin I., *Književnost hrvatskoga realizma i „Vijenac” o Bosni i Hercegovini poslije Šenoine smrti*, „Kačić” 1997, br. 29.
29. Pilar Đ., *Putopisne crtice iz Bosne*, Slavonski Brod 2007.
30. Posavec V., *Povijesni zemljovid i granice Hrvatske u Tomislavovo doba*, „Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest” 1997, t. 30.
31. *Programatski dokumenti hrvatskih političkih stranaka i skupina 1842.–1914.*, prir. T. Cipek, S. Matković, Zagreb 2006.
32. Rački F., Pavlinović M., Nodilo N., Lorković B., *Izbori iz djela*, Zagreb 1969.
33. Rapacka J., *Śródziemnomorze – Europa Środkowa – Bałkany. Studia z literatur południowo-słowiańskich*, Kraków 2002.
34. Rizvić M., *Behar. Književnohistorijska monografija*, Sarajevo 2000.
35. Šagolj S., *Novinstvo i nastanak nacija u BiH (1850.–1914.)*, Split–Mostar 2011.
36. *Sarajevski filološki susreti II. Zbornik radova*, knj. II, ur. S. Kodrić, V. Preljević, Sarajevo 2014.
37. Schorske C. E., *Beč krajem stoljeća. Politika i kultura*, Zagreb 1997.
38. Seroka M., *Chorwacja turecka – Turcja europejska? Bośnia w podróżopisarstwie epoki jugoslawizmu*, „Pamiętnik Słowiański” 2013, t. LXIII, z. 1–2.
39. Seroka M., *Środowisko sarajewskiej „Nady” i napływowi Chorwaci w Bośni i Hercegowinie w szkicach z podróży Antego Tresicia Pavičicia*, [in:] *Czytać, wędrować, być. Tom dedykowany Profesorowi Zdzisławowi Daraszowi*, red. M. Bogusławska, J. Goszczyńska, J. Šuler-Galos, Warszawa 2016, pp. 101–112.

40. Smith A. D., *Etniczne korzenie narodów*, Kraków 2009.
41. Smith A. D., *Kulturowe podstawy narodów. Hierarchia, przymierze i republika*, Kraków 2009.
42. *Spotkania międzykulturowe. 1. Literaturoznawstwo. Kultura*, red. K. Jarząbek, A. Ruttar, S. Sojda, Katowice 2013.
43. Starčević A., *Iztočno pitanje*, Varaždin 1995.
44. Starčević A., *Politički spisi*, Zagreb 1971.
45. Starinom Bošnjak (Alaupović T.), *Sarajevo*, „Vienac” 1895, god. XXVII (1895), br. 16, 22, 24, 25, 29.
46. Šuško Dž., *Bosniaks & Loyalty: Responses to the Conscription law in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1881/1882*, “Hungarian Historical Review” 2014, Vol. 3, No. 3.
47. Tresić Pavičić A., *Bosna i Hercegovina. Putopisne crtice*, „Dom i svijet” 1896, br. 8, 9, 10.
48. Veber Tkalčević A., *Put na Plitvice, Odabrana proza*, Vinkovci 1998.
49. Zindrum A., *Bosna u ljeto 1879. godine. uz 160. obljetnicu rođenja puto-pisca Đure Pilara*, „Bosna franciscana” 2006, god. 14, br. 25.